

# PEACE NEWS

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## THE GENETIC EFFECTS OF RADIATION

By Our Scientific Correspondent

**THE** reason for the real uncertainty over the possible harm which a given amount of radiation may do to posterity can be understood only if we understand the nature of that harm.

Large doses of radiation can kill or damage unborn babies (usually the former) but this is not the risk with which we are concerned in discussing nuclear tests. Radiation can also make adults sterile by damage to the germ cells, but there is, again, little immediate danger that the number of abnormal children born even to survivors of the Hiroshima bomb, or to their grandchildren, will be very high.

The danger of releasing radiation into the atmosphere is a much subtler one. We all, in common with other organisms, live under a continual fire of radioactive particles of varying energies coming from minerals in the earth, from outer space, and from the products of collision between cosmic rays and the atoms of gas in the atmosphere. This level of radiation ("background") is a fact of life.

The inherited characters of organisms, including us, are carried for the most part by chemical structures in the male and female germ cells (those which give rise to eggs or sperms), which copy themselves with great accuracy and are highly specific.

**When a cell is "hit"**

Radiation is known to affect these structures—in crude terms, when a radioactive particle "scores a hit" upon one of them, the result, like a scratch on a negative, will be propagated through all subsequent cells derived from it. It is possible that similar radioactive "hits," not on germ cells but on body cells in the various organs, may be responsible for some cases of cancer, but that is another story.

Such "hits" upon germ cells produce changes in heritable characters known as mutations, and most of these, when they express themselves in the offspring, are harmful, not beneficial.

In very many cases, however, they only do express themselves when the same changed hereditary factor is contributed by *both* parents. In these cases (recessives) the child reared from a sperm which has undergone a "hit" and an egg-cell which has not will be normal, since half his hereditary material is derived from each parent.

But half the child's own sex cells will on the average carry the mutant: if brother and sister marriages were allowed in human societies, one quarter of the offspring of such a brother and sister would be abnormal, and one half, while normal, would carry the mutant gene in an undetectable form and transmit it to their offspring.

All radiation probably produces mutation, and the more radiation there is, the more mutation will occur. That not all of it is harmful is evident from the fact that if no change had occurred in the genetic constitution of animals, there would have been no evolution, which has depended largely on the weeding-out of unfavourable, and the spreading of favourable, characters arising in this way.

Unfortunately this does not apply under the conditions of human life.

**No "safe" level of radiation**

Quite a large increase in background radiation could occur without obvious increase in the immediate number of abnormal births, simply because of the absence of close inter-marriage in human societies and the relative scarcity of the new mutants. But the spread of such mutants is nearly impossible to calculate—they cannot be detected in any individual who carries but does not express them—and the result is like a game of snap played with very large packs in which originally there is only one similar pair, but to which new similar cards are being added at an unknown rate.

Obviously under these conditions a vast increase in the number of "snaps" would occur after a while—in the case of human recessive mutations, after several generations.

It is evident therefore that there is no "safe" level of radiation for the germ cell, as there is for the whole man—any more than there is a safe level of rifle fire for a platoon to march through.

The question is how much artificial radiation can be added to the background without the risk of serious trouble several generations ahead.

Commonsense would suggest as little as possible, in view of the increasing use of atomic energy and the desirability of leaving plenty of margin for an accidental escape of radioactive matter.

But commonsense unfortunately plays no part whatsoever in the planning of contemporary power politics. The future generations may have a vote, but they cannot use it yet, and those who take the risks will be safely dead by then.

## Sir Richard Acland tells Gravesend electorate— WHY I AM AGAINST MAKING THE H-BOMB

**"COULD I** have remained in the Labour Party to argue from inside?" Sir Richard Acland, who resigned his seat as MP for Gravesend in order to contest an election on the issue of the H-bomb, asks this question in a letter with which he prefaces his recently published election address.

"No. I have watched it; and it doesn't work," his letter continues. "More and more in recent months the party machine has been controlled by men whose outlook would only be shared by a small minority amongst those who do the work for the Party in the constituencies. At all costs I had to bring this issue directly to the people, in spite of the hard decisions which this will throw upon many of my friends."

Sir Richard distributed his election address last week, because, he told his constituents "you have a right to see, at the earliest moment, why I resign and why I am against making H-bombs."

The address reads:

I propose that we stop making H-bombs, and that we set ourselves to spend up to 300 million a year through international agencies, on helping the world's poverty-stricken millions to help themselves.

Moscow is not mainly counting on the H-bomb; but rather on the break-up of countries where grinding poverty mocks at what men now know could be done. If we don't care for these people enough to help them to the tune of even 2% of our national income, we don't deserve to withstand the Communist challenge; and no armoury of H-bombs will enable us to survive it.

**About the H-bomb,**

clear thinking is needed because you might be tempted to argue: "The other fellow's got it; we must have it too."

The short answer is that you know in your bones that it's wrong—morally wrong, I mean.

Somewhere, some day, ordinary men and women have to tell scientists, generals and statesmen to turn back from this evil.

There is, however, a more practical argument; for until the H-bomb there never was a weapon which could bring total and instant destruction to whole countries.

Today—without having to ask any help from us—the Americans have the power to spread total and almost instant destruction over Russia; the Russians have, or soon will have, the same power over America. The short-term hope of the world is that these two will be so dead scared that neither will make on the other—or on anyone else—the sort of attack which might set off the whole thermo-nuclear holocaust.

This is what we call "the deterrent". In the short run, it is quite a real hope. To this

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## 27 refuse to pay taxes in USA

**CHARGING** that the United States would use nuclear weapons in any major war, 27 American pacifists announced today (Friday) that they are refusing to pay 1954 federal income taxes.

Some of them refuse to pay all the tax due, others refuse to pay a percentage equal to the percentage of the national budget used for war.

They made known their refusal to pay through the Tax Refusal Committee of Peace-makers, a national pacifist group.

Although they made it clear that they would not pay taxes for war preparation, or war, regardless of the type of weapons, they singled out the "New Look" military policy for special criticism. They charged that the New Look policy commits the United States to the use of nuclear weapons in the event of a major war and that it is prepared to use those weapons in a small one.

In their statement released today they charged that American policy does not regard nuclear weapons as so horrible that no nation should ever use them. They point out that although Hitler did not order the Nazi army to use gas or bacteriological warfare, American officials are already committed to the use of the more deadly nuclear weapons.

## News you may have missed

**London national newspapers**, which have stopped publication, have a daily circulation of over 16,000,000 every week-day morning, 3,300,000 every evening, and 31,000,000 every Sunday. Papers outside London that are still publishing have a morning circulation of no more than 1,600,000, and evening circulation of 6,900,000 and a Sunday circulation of under 700,000, says the Manchester Guardian.

### FAR EAST

**Washington's request** for delay on the projected visit of Mr. Shigemitsu, the Japanese Foreign Minister to Mr. Dulles, leaves Japanese-American relations at their lowest level. Recent talk in Tokyo about co-existence with the Communists has caused Americans to ask precisely where Japan is going.

**President Mao Tse-tung** of Communist China ordered on April 8 that there should be an end to the state of war which had existed between China and Germany since December 9, 1941.

**Japan has rejected** a Soviet proposal to hold talks on ending the state of war between the two countries in Tokyo or Moscow, the Japanese Foreign Minister announced on April 6. Japan has insisted that the talks should be held at the United Nations headquarters in New York, and hopes that Russia will agree to her early admission to the United Nations.

**The purging and suicide** of Chinese Vice-President Kao Kang, who was regarded at one time as Mao Tse-tung's most likely successor, were simultaneously announced in Peking on April 4.

**Speaking of the programme** of Singapore's new government Mr. David Marshall said: "We want to attain full independence in co-operation with Britain." He claimed that the existing emergency regulations offended the popular sense of justice, and should be subjected to review.

### USA

**President Eisenhower**, on April 10, was reported to have directed American forces to stand clear of fighting that might break out in the Formosa area until he can assess the extent of any Chinese Communist attack. If he is convinced that an assault on Quemoy and Matsu is the beginning of a massive effort to take Formosa, American forces would move into action with tactical small-size atomic weapons.

**President Eisenhower** signed documents on April 7 to end the Allied occupation of

Western Germany and admit her to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

**Admiral Carney**, Chief of Naval Operations, was reported to have said to a group of American newspapermen on March 24: "The Chinese Communists will probably initiate an attack on Matsu in mid-April. The significance of the timing is that it would tie up with the Afro-Asian conference in Bandung, Indonesia from April 18-24. On April 5, to a Congressional Committee Admiral Carney denied having made this statement."

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## H-tests in the North Sea "IT'S LEGAL"—MP

Peace News Parliamentary Correspondent

**FURTHER** attempts to limit hydrogen bomb explosions were made in the Commons on Wednesday last week. Having failed to secure the abolition of the bomb altogether, Mr. Henry Osborne (Lab., Yardley) tried the next best thing and concentrated on limiting the tests.

He suggested that the Foreign Secretary should negotiate with other countries with a view to defining the areas where thermo-nuclear explosives might, or might not, be tested.

Mr. Anthony Nutting, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, replied that, besides Britain, there were only two other countries at present concerned with thermo-nuclear explosions—the USSR and the US.

Up to now, he said, the USSR had conducted all its tests within its own territory. After their last tests in the Pacific, the US representative in the United Nations said the US authorities were doing everything possible to prevent any recurrence of possible danger.

"In these circumstances," he added, "I do not think that any useful purpose would be served by negotiations on this subject."

**"How do you know?"**

Mr. Osborne said that Sir William Penney, the British atomic scientist, was recently reported to have said that 150,000 tons of water could be lifted by an atomic bomb exploded under water. The hydrogen bomb, presumably, would raise very much more than that.

"It is now apparently legal for a nation to explode such a bomb in the North Sea," he protested. "Is it not therefore important that some international arrangement should be reached, if bombs have to be exploded, to decide where they should be exploded?"

And, having gone that far, Mr. Osborne proceeded to ask the obvious question arising from that train of thought: "Is it not better to reach an agreement that they should not be exploded at all?"

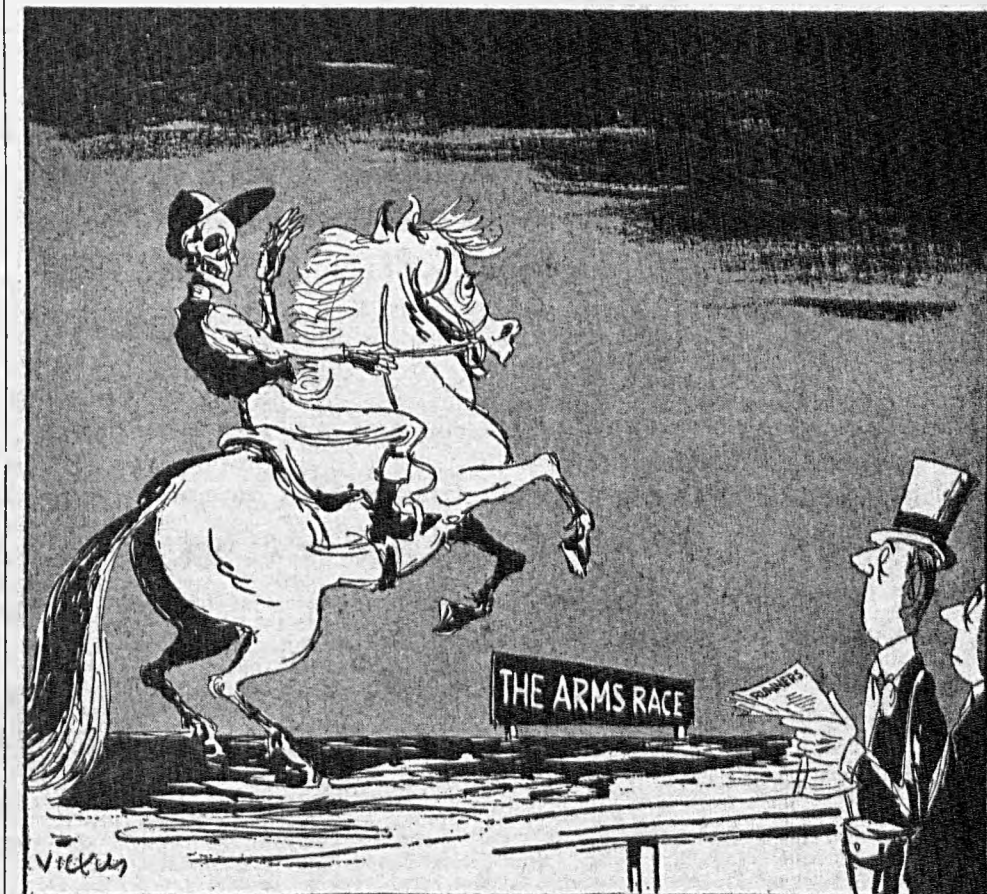
Mr. Nutting brushed the last question aside by saying that it was not what Mr. Osborne had originally raised.

"As to where the explosions should take place," he said, "I can assure you that they will not take place in the North Sea."

There was a chorus of, "How do you know?" and Mr. Nutting went on: "From the evidence available, the maximum precautions are taken by countries to ensure the minimum amount of danger."

Mr. Michael Stewart (Lab., Fulham, E.) wondered how Mr. Nutting could assure the House that these explosions would not take place in the North Sea.

"Have you received assurances from the Soviet Government in that respect," he asked. Mr. Nutting replied that he was speaking on behalf of the British Government.



Cartoon by courtesy of Vicki and the Daily Mirror.

**"A winner? There won't be any winner in this race!"**



# PEACE NEWS

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A certain calmness and good temper are necessary if we would understand what we disagree with, or would oppose it with success.  
J. A. FROUDE.

## Can fear be banned?

**T**HERE is nothing that we can learn from history on what may be the end of the growing fear of universal destruction that is over the world today. There has been no comparable historical period.

We have observed that more than one politician has compared the consequences of the development of atomic energy as a weapon of destruction with the discovery of gunpowder. Such a comparison is obviously valueless and is only resorted to for purposes of deception—probably self-deception.

Men are seeking to deceive themselves for they are afraid. All have a sense of personal fear, except the very old who have lived their lives and know that there is nothing much left before them; and unless these are people with no pity for youth or concern for those to come after them, these also are afraid.

This does not mean that men and women go trembling about their affairs. They have lived into the present hideous epoch by stages, first with the atom-bomb as a horror that could never be repeated; then with the progressive acceptance among people that it might conceivably be repeated, and that at any rate the thing was being made; then into the era of the discovery of the H-bomb, its manufacture and the development of its destructive power; until they have come to live in an age when, if they allow themselves to think about it, they know that there is enough destructive material in the world for the annihilation of all humanity.

Mostly they do not allow themselves to think about it. Men and women have to live their lives, and to live in sanity it is necessary to assume a future—for themselves and for their children. They thrust the H-bomb out of their minds, and the fact that its manufacture is increasingly being spread over the world: America, then Russia, then Britain and now France.

It is a subject that cannot be prevented from occasionally intruding itself into thought—indeed, it does this increasingly—but it is not welcomed, and it is not encouraged as material for serious discussions in polite society although it is the most important fact today in the world of men.



But men have only a limited control over what their minds are to be concerned with and, thrust away, this thing keeps coming back. It comes back as a growing fear, a fear that it seems impossible to exorcise. This fear finds different means of expression. Sir Winston Churchill described the epoch that has brought these things as a hideous epoch, forgetting that if the atom-bomb had not been produced it could not have been dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, actions he had formerly held to be desirable and, on the whole, beneficial.

The Archbishop of York remarks "I would to God they had never been invented," forgetting that he has expressed the view that the H-bomb may act as a shield while steps are taken that may bring peace.

Both comments are expressions of the fear that is over everybody, as are the letters that so many good folk write to the newspapers to announce that they would rather be vapourised by the H-bomb than submit to Communist tyranny. That their letters are in substitution for the whimper of fear is attested by the fact that they are always concerned with the destruction that may be coming to themselves; we have yet to see a letter in which the writer says that rather than submit to Communist tyranny he would vapourise the population of a great town.

Now we do not know what is going to be the outcome of this situation. All we can know is that this fear will grow. What history has had to show us in earlier epochs, where there were no means of nuclear destruction, is that the periods of mounting fear that accompanied an arms race were brought to an end by war: one side or the other has felt that it was less intolerable to plunge in than to wait. In all these earlier occasions, however, the plunge was a gamble; it could possibly lead to a more advantageous position among the Powers afterwards and a surcease to fear. Today it means destruction for all.

This does not mean that we are safeguarded against such a plunge being taken. Fear and tension, such as have never been known before, must create a strain upon men that will inevitably lead to somebody somewhere taking action that will put an end to an intolerable burden on mind and nerves.

The H-bomb itself will be less and less the centre of danger. This will be the fear of the H-bomb. It is this that will have to be outlawed first; and this can only be done by nations acting alone. To "ban the H-bomb" will not ban the fear of the H-bomb. It may even increase it and poison it through suspicion. The nation that decides to put down its defences, because defence today means "deterrents" and this means the H-bomb, will not have removed the danger in which it lives, but it will not have added to the danger. It will doubtless not have removed fear. What it will have done will have been to face the fact that no tolerable life can be lived in fear; and it will have defied fear; which will be the first step to becoming free of it.

## Sir Winston retires

**M**OST of the Press commentary on Sir Winston Churchill consequent upon his retirement will have to await the end of the newspaper strike, but this will doubtless follow on the lines of what has been said in anticipation of this event and will be overweighted by appreciation of Sir Winston's versatility and personal zest for life. Any real appraisal of his place in history will have to await the hand of the historians of the future, if there are to be such.

That Sir Winston is a man who is capable of sympathetic and imaginative understanding in personal relationships is testified by most people who have been brought into contact with him, particularly those who have had dealings with him in the House of Commons, where the greater part of his life has been spent.

This fact tends to obscure the real character of his place in the world of politics. Sir Winston has unquestionably been one of the major figures in the world of our times and this means surely that he has made one of the major contributions to the creation of the kind of world that we live in today: we have to contemplate the character of this world in appraising the departing Prime Minister's contribution.

The first thing that has to be said about Sir Winston regarded from this standpoint is that he has fully accepted the kind of society founded on the operation of class-power operated through private capital accumulation, and although the socialist movement in its various manifestations has disclosed in its working out its own peculiar threats to the human spirit and to human welfare, it is nevertheless true that it has been the organisation of society on the basis of class-power through capital accumulation that has set in movement the trends that have brought two world wars and now threaten universal destruction in a third.

Sir Winston has not only been fully identified with the basic conceptions on which such a society is founded but, although he has a capacity for accepting the accomplished fact with a certain grace, he has consistently fought a rear-guard action against attempts to modify its evils and has shown no disposition to meet aspirations to colonial independence in a liberal spirit.

## Cold war Premier

**S**IR WINSTON has a very special responsibility for the creation of the conditions that in the world of today have come to be described as the "cold war." The leading part he took in attempting to destroy the Russian revolution by lending external military aid to the forces seeking to re-establish Czarism certainly provided substantial reasons for future governments of Russia to regard the West with suspicion, and this action probably contributed to the development of the autocratic character of the Russian regime.

In the development of the tensions that have followed World War II and which threaten to break down in World War III, we believe that the two biggest contributions have been the Communist seizure of power, with the Russian threat behind it, in Czechoslovakia in 1948, and the speech made by Sir Winston at Fulton in 1946, when—using, of course, the conventional cant of the power struggle by speaking in "defence" terms—he threatened Russia with the atom bomb, which she did not then possess, if she pursued what British diplomacy of the 19th century would have called a "vigorous" foreign policy.

Whether or not there was any disposition on the part of the Russian Government to display a conciliatory attitude after the World War, that Fulton speech made it impossible, as Sir Winston ought to have been the first to recognise if he could have asked himself what would have been his own reaction had the positions been reversed.

Bad and threatening as was the Russian-encouraged seizure of power in

# BEHIND THE NEWS

Czechoslovakia, it must be remembered that it came after and not before Sir Winston Churchill's Fulton speech.

## Towards the opening of talks

**T**HE first step in the opening of talks between the Powers on what is now to happen following the ratification of the Paris treaties was taken on Easter Monday when Herr Raab, the Austrian

## WEBSTER ON CONSCRIPTION

"Where is it written in the Constitution, in what articles or section is it contained, that you may take children from their parents, and parents from their children and compel them to fight the battles of any war in which the folly or wickedness of the government may engage itself?"

"Under what concealment has this power lain hidden, which now for the first time comes forth, with a tremendous and baleful aspect, to trample down and destroy the dearest right of personal liberty? Who will show me any Constitutional injunction which makes it the duty of the American people to surrender everything valuable in life, and even life itself, whenever the purposes of an ambitious and mischievous government may require it?"

"I almost disdain to go to quotations and references to prove that such an abominable doctrine has no foundation in the Constitution of this country. It is enough to know that that instrument was intended as the basis of a free government, and that the power contended for is incompatible with any notion of personal liberty."

"A free government, with an uncontrolled power of military conscription, is the most ridiculous and abominable contradiction and nonsense that ever entered into the heads of men."

—Daniel Webster, in the US House of Representatives, Jan. 14, 1814.

Chancellor, arrived in Moscow to engage in talks with the Russian Government on an Austrian Treaty.

These talks are only exploratory as the Treaty must be approved by Britain, France and the United States as well as by Russia. The Western governments have hitherto been pressing for a treaty that would establish independence for Austria, and Russia has been resisting it, understandably, for there has obviously been no reason why the Russian Government should surrender what military advantages she gains by keeping a foot in Austria in the face of the rearmament of Germany.

The present talks, however, have been begun on the Russian initiative and we think there is little doubt that Mr. Molotov sees in them a gateway to the larger talks on the future of Europe. What is to happen to Austria is so clearly linked up with what is to happen to Germany that it will be found impossible to separate the questions and when the Western powers meet with Russia and Austria to consider the Treaty they will find that they will have to discuss the question of Germany as well.

The main safeguard that the Russian Government seeks is that there shall be no "anschluss" between an independent Austria and a rearmament Germany, and bearing in mind how "anschluss" was achieved before, it is clear that this safeguard cannot be provided by Austrian undertakings alone.

That Germany expects to be engaged in these discussions has already been

made clear, just as it has already been made clear that Germany will now act in a much less inhibited fashion in the furtherance of its national aims.

The newspaper Die Welt has now declared that Germany will be "ceasing to consider world policies through Allied spectacles" and that Federal Germany has a right to take the initiative whenever the future of the whole of Germany is concerned. Such an initiative is already indicated by the German Foreign Office which has announced that it is working out a programme for German reunification, and that this programme will be tendered to the Western powers during the discussions which must precede the holding of a Four-Power conference.

The Soviet Government, incidentally, has indicated that it would prefer a full-scale Four-Power meeting on the Austrian question rather than a meeting of ambassadors. At such a full-scale meeting it will be shown that the question of Austria cannot be handled separately from the question of Germany.

It is still not too late to consider the possibility of an unarmed and neutralised group of European states including a united Germany as a contribution to the relieving of tensions and the construction of the conditions of a peaceful world.

## A "cut" that had two edges

**P**REMSYL PITTER, one time President of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Czechoslovakia and a member of the Council of the War Resisters International, is now engaged in social work for the evangelical churches at Nuremberg.

He writes in L'Essor, the Swiss pacifist journal, on a message that has been sent by representatives of the Protestant churches in Czechoslovakia calling upon protestants in West Germany to work against the rearmament of Germany. A similar message has been sent by the Czech Catholics.

Premysl Pitter makes the point that the signatories have never made a public protest against the rearmament of Czechoslovakia, that not one of them had been associated with the peace movement in Czechoslovakia in the past, that among them were those who had regarded the Fellowship of Reconciliation with "a certain disdain," and that the voices of those who were associated with the peace movement of the past may now never be heard.

He observes a difference between the original text in Czech, as published in the journal Kostnické Jiskry and the translation that has reached Germany. Here the following paragraph has been eliminated:

"When a party, a group, a government, whatever it may be, lays down in advance conditions for a collaboration for peace, and recognises as peace only that which corresponds to its own views, when it seeks to impose its views regarding peace on others, it denies the cause of peace, and abuses the universal aspiration towards peace of all men and peoples in order to cover up its plans for domination."

Premysl Pitter suggests that these words have had to be deleted because they might give the West the impression that the Czechoslovakian Protestant churches were not entirely beyond their Government.

The explanation seems to us to be more obvious. These Czechoslovakian Protestants have followed a little too faithfully their own Government's propaganda. While it may be all right for home consumption to assume that the ratification of the Paris treaties must be the conditions laid down in advance this might not be so apparent to the Western reader who has been able to observe quite a deal of laying down of conditions in advance coming from Czechoslovakia's great military ally, and who is also used to hearing, in a rather different context, about the abuse of the universal aspiration towards peace as a cover for plans for domination.

## "Who will dispense the medicine?"

**I** AM not unaccustomed to shocks but even so it was jarring to come home from a trip, a considerable part of which had been devoted to making speeches in Germany against rearmament, to find the US Senate ratifying the Paris accords providing for this very rearmament of Germany by an all but unanimous vote and virtually without discussion.

The general public, including the Church leaders and members, could not have shown less curiosity, let alone concern, than they did. This was a day or so before Palm Sunday. Indeed, the business was rushed through the Senate so that Senators could get away to spend Holy Week and Easter at home.

All that remains now is to have Eisenhower sign the documents on Good Friday. O, Jerusalem, Jerusalem!

## MacArthur and Yalta

There is excitement here over the publication of the Yalta documents, and I want to mention one feature of the discussion which will bear close watching, as further revelations may be made.

I refer to the public, carefully worded statement made by General MacArthur who insists that he had nothing to do—at least before the Yalta decisions were made—with bringing Russia into the war against Japan. In fact, MacArthur declares, as far back as September

21, 1944—more than ten months before the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima as a merciful way to bring the war to an end with a minimum loss of lives, especially American ones—he reported that Japan no longer had the ability to wage total war and "defeat now stares her in the face."

He asserts that the future development of the war confirmed his estimate of Japan's weakness. "Indeed, so confirmed was my belief that discussions were held at my headquarters concerning the possibility of finishing off Japan even before the close of the European war"—in the spring, that is, of 1945.

I do not want to follow up now the implications of this revelation, if it is confirmed, with those who eventually made the decision nevertheless to drop the A-bomb. It furnishes, however, a suitable introduction to some observations on the mentality, the way of thinking in terms of abstractions, impersonal problems, technical formulas, which comes to characterise the military. I read a couple of chapters the other day in a book entitled THE MAN IN THE THICK LEAD SUIT. It consists of a series of sketches having to do with various aspects of atomic weapons development written by Daniel Lang, a feature writer for New Yorker magazine, in which the sketches originally appeared. The chapter which gives the title to

the book deals with civilian defence, a matter which is of added concern to our British friends as the Churchill government joins the highly select company of H-bomb producers.

Mr. Lang interviewed a Lieutenant Colonel Barnett W. Beers, high up in the Office of Civil Defence Planning. The colonel had been to places like Germany and Japan to find out just "what happens in a community while incendiaries and explosives are dropping on it." Well, in Nagasaki, e.g. "somebody made a mistake and sounded the all-clear" just before the A-bomb was dropped. Thousands of lives could have been saved if only "people who had been alerted had remained in their shelters."

## Hamburg's CD

The colonel paints a very realistic picture of the incendiary raids on Hamburg—"the cornices of buildings didn't fall, they floated away." So what? Well, the Germans made mistakes in civil defence preparations too. E.g. they did not anticipate the amount of fire fighting equipment that would be needed in a war. "They had plenty of water right there in the Elbe, but why didn't they have enough pumps for it?"

Then they had fire apparatus mostly in the centre of cities, rather than on the outskirts. They really were stupid, you know. Another

illustration the colonel has is about the way the reserves of firemen and police were handled. Picture it:

"Hanover would send two-thirds of its entire civil defence force to help Hamburg. Then Hanover would get it, and Cologne men would have to be sent to Hanover. It was a terrible botch—people fighting fires in strange cities while their own homes were catching it."

The colonel a little later allows that not all the emergencies that may face a city after a heavy bombing can be foreseen. But we are going to do our best. For instance, we plan to broadcast personal messages for separated persons: "I don't know why the Germans never did that." We are also planning to prepare casualty lists as rapidly as possible. Dog tags for civilians might be advisable. And the ultimate in forethought:

"We also believe that it would be more humane to separate the morgues, instead of concentrating them in one district."

There is no real envisaging or attempt to envisage what this means on the inside of the human being, to the persons who suffer and, above all, do these things to other persons. In a sense the military men are not to be blamed. Most of the psychologists who presumably ought to be doing that—leaving



# Have you read Peace News?

## —TRIBUNAL ASK CO

ON April 1, a full public gallery at Fulham, heard the Tribunal Chairman, Sir Gerald Hargreaves commend a young man for practical evidence of his conscientious objection.

"In Anthony Smith, the Tribunal have found an attitude not noticed in any other objector," he said.

It was evident that the Tribunal as a whole had found respect for the young Methodist before them, who, without bigotry, had stated that he had already resigned from Fairey Aviation works, because the firm were manufacturing military aircraft, and that should his present firm turn over to war-work, he would again resign.

Asked if he would object to non-combatant duties, Smith replied that he would, that the Army was a violent organisation, and he did not wish to be part of it.

He was granted conditional exemption, and advised to take up work with Friends Ambulance Unit.

"Have you read any books, Peace News, or anything of that sort?" asked Mr. Tudor-Davies of Michael Gerald Knight.

Knight replied that he had not.

This was a most unusual case. Michael Knight's parents were pacifists; his father was a friend of Reginald Reynolds; Michael had been brought up in a home where non-violence was taken for granted, where pacifism was so much a way of life, that the youth had never found it necessary to question pacifism in any way whatsoever.

Sir Gerald Hargreaves advised him to go to the Appellate, and have "some reasons in your mind, and read something on this subject."

Another sincere but (for the Tribunal) insufficiently informed conscientious objector was John Harrison, a nineteen-year-old bricklayer. He had procured a Ministry of Labour leaflet on coalmining when he was eighteen, and had taken it for granted that if he did not wish to go to the forces, he could do alternative service in the coal mines. He had tried to get such employment, but failed. He based his objection on humanitarian grounds, saying, "I have an abhorrence of taking life."

Sir Gerald Hargreaves, dismissing the application, referred Harrison to the Appellate, saying, "It is not enough to say you have an abhorrence to taking life. You must have grounds. You must read the subject up."

## Young objectors discuss their stand

By David Canter

"CHRISTIAN Pacifism and Conscientious Objection" was discussed at a conference, held between April 2-4 under the auspices of the Friends' Peace Committee (Quakers) at Leighton Park School, Reading, for thirty intending COs between the ages of sixteen and nineteen.

The introductory address was given by John Ounsted, Headmaster of Leighton Park. Further helpful guidance was provided by Fred Moorhouse, Assistant Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, who spoke on "The Faith of a Christian Pacifist" and Philip Seed, who dealt very fully with the position of the CO. For the remaining four sessions of the CO. For the remaining four sessions of the crowded week-end programme, groups were formed for discussion of such topics as the sincerity of the CO, justice based on law, the consequences of war and the logic of the pacifist position.

## Supersonic Defence League!

WHEN German planes caused damage to British property during the last World War, a form of compensation was undertaken by the British Government.

Today, it is British and US planes which are causing the damage, by breaking through the sound barrier.

To deal with complaints received from householders, a "Supersonic Defence League" has been formed.

## KEEP UP THE AVERAGE

THE growing concern about the Government's decision to manufacture the H-bomb and the challenge which the Peace Pledge Union is presenting to the conscience of men and women that the only satisfactory and realistic step is the abolition of war itself and all its weapons, has brought increased support. It is encouraging to all of us that with the help of some substantial anonymous gifts and a cheque for \$10 from America the Peace Pledge Union Fund has jumped up to a total of £285. We have thus caught up again and our total is almost exactly the right proportion at this date of the £1,000 we aim at during 1955.

We are very grateful to all who have helped so far, and I confidently look forward to keeping up the average and, indeed, to beating all previous records in 1955.

How many will maintain the average for a day by sending us £3, or £10 for a week-end, since our work goes on all the time?

STUART MORRIS, General Secretary

Our aim for 1955: £1,000  
Amount received to date: £285  
Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

# PALM SUNDAY PROCESSION IN BIRMINGHAM



Palm Sunday is a traditional occasion for processions, but Birmingham witnessed an unusual one this year.

Thirty members from the society of Friends (Quakers), Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Peace Pledge Union, carried posters and distributed leaflets through Birmingham's City centre in the hour preceding the Sunday Evening service.

The slogan on the posters included: "Christian ends will not be served by un-Christian means"; "We Renounce War in Christ's Name"; "Convert the Implements of War"; "Convert Tanks into Tractors"; "Sufficient is Thine Arm Alone".

The leaflets distributed were of all varieties

MOST GERMANS SAY:—

## Negotiate before rearming

THE Social Democratic Party of Western Germany in recent months organised a census of opinion in two cities and two rural districts in the Rhineland, Hannover and Bavaria, asking the electorate whether it agreed to the demand that talks should be held before the ratification of the London and Paris Agreements.

At the same time the Party asked one of the private polling institutes in the Federal Republic to conduct a poll on a series of political questions, including:

"Are you of the opinion that before ratifying the agreements negotiations should be undertaken?"

Both enquiries, which were completely independent of each other, resulted in 56 per cent. of those approached being in favour of negotiations before ratification.

## East German view:

Ernst Langer, Protestant Clergyman, Gelnhausen: "Many of us bear on our bodies the scars of the last war. That is why we raise our voices now to say 'no' to the Paris Agreements and remilitarisation."

published by the SoF, PPU, and FoR. They were well received by the public and a number of people came and asked for them; some taking part expressed the opinion afterwards that their witness was more effective because it stressed the duties of Christians in regard to war.

The parade was preceded by a meeting for worship at Friends Meeting House, Bull St.

## Pacifist debate drew largest attendance

From John G. Millwood

IF persisted in, war will ultimately exterminate the human race," said Reg. Lowe, Chairman of the Co-op College (Loughborough, Leics.) Pacifist Fellowship, moving a motion worded like the Peace Pledge Union pledge in a recent debate.

Seconding the motion, another Fellowship member, John Hammond, said that war was insane and pointed out that we were now arming Germany because we were afraid of Russia, whom we armed because we were afraid of Germany.

After a vigorous debate the motion was defeated by 21 votes to 20, with several abstentions.

The Fellowship were pleased to have the largest attendance at any voluntarily organised meeting at the college this season.

Each week the Fellowship sells 24 copies of Peace News. Copies of Sir Richard Acland's speech have been distributed to every student.

## PO knew COs

ALL conscientious objectors in Britain and abroad, listed in Peace News last December as being in prison at Christmas, were sent a greetings card by Loughborough Peace Pledge Union and Fellowship of Reconciliation group.

From two Continental pacifists came letters of thanks addressed simply: "PPU Group, Loughborough, England." But they were safely delivered, delegates to the North and East Midlands Area, PPU, annual general meeting at Nottingham, were told on Saturday.

# PEOPLE AND PLACES

## LIFE OF LANSBURY

EMRYS HUGHES, MP, tells me that he has been putting the finishing touches to a pamphlet-length life of George Lansbury.

He has not, as other writers have done, glossed over George Lansbury's last years and the clash with Ernest Bevin.

Time is vindicating George Lansbury. Today many more are echoing the great Labour leader's call, made as far back as the '30s for what is now known as a "war on want."

It has been said of Bevin and Lansbury that they buried the wrong man in Westminster Abbey.

## EVEN IN LOUISVILLE!

THE funeral of Walter White (this column April 1) was attended by 3,000 people of all races, headed by New York's Governor, Averell Harriman, according to Time last week.

This "vigorous champion of justice and equality for all our citizens" (Eisenhower's tribute to White) was eulogised by a Louisville newspaper and the Missouri House passed a resolution of sympathy.

Peace hath her heroes...

## FIRST-TIMERS

IT is good to see so many people screwing up their courage and going out on to the streets for the first time

on peace demonstrations and Peace News selling.

There were a number of these plucky folk in the march in Birmingham last Sunday, pictured elsewhere in Peace News.

The youngest, Connie Jones tells me, was 16; the oldest approaching 80.

Although it was a rainy day and there were fewer people about than usual, the parade became a two-day affair: The Birmingham Mail on Monday carried a picture of the paraders and a very good explanation of their case.

## FOURTEEN AND BEVAN

ALONG with 13 other Peace News staff members and voluntary workers I signed a letter to Mr. Bevan urging him, now that the whip has been withdrawn, to come out in support of Sir Richard Acland, little thinking that the round robin would get the publicity it did.

Bob Edwards mentioned the letter in Tribune last week and the Manchester Guardian the following day.

## SHOOT MRS KNIGHT?

THOSE readers who heard the Rev. Francis Noble's stirring speech at the "Renounce the H-bomb" meeting in Trafalgar Square last June, will not be surprised to learn that he is still hammering away on this issue in his parish magazine. In the March issue he writes:

## If Protestantism cried "Halt!"

"The elements of Atomic Warfare bring mankind to one of the most critical moments in history. How is it to be met? The only world force with the historic background prestige to meet the need is the Christian Church.

"If Protestantism should proclaim that the Christian can no longer bear arms or wage war, mankind would respond everywhere, for the peoples of the earth are already in revolt against any thought of atomic war—as the hazardous condition of all our alliances reveals.

"If Protestantism cried 'Halt,' the Vatican would soon follow, for the Pope has spoken more boldly than any so far. "But what of Russia? There stands the greatest gain of all, for unrecognised in the USA is the fact that the Russian people suffered so terribly in the last war that the Kremlin has been forced to clothe Communism in the propaganda of peace or face endless revolt. Why not turn tables on the Politburo? If they will not accept concrete proposals for ending all threats to war, with safeguards which all peace-seeking nations will agree to, the Kremlin will stand stripped before the world in all their naked brutality and deception.

"This dilemma of despair will likely not be broken until the Church finds its voice, denounces the cults of violence and the fraternities of military glory now dedicated to the slaughter of the innocents, until the Church lifts the veil from this false war-prosperity which is draining away the resources our children will need for necessities.

"If the Church starts this, it must go all the way, for there is no place to stop now this side of the outlawry of all war. Subversive? A five-star general did it recently as they named a public park for him in Los Angeles. All official proclamations of the Church on war so far have been wavering and uncertain.

"It would seem that the Church must do this to save itself, before men become aware of the damning contradictions between sermons and hymns proclaiming the gospel of love—and the weekday stock-piling of 14 megaton bombs.

"Are we ready for the great venture?" —Charles A. Wells in "Between the Lines" (USA), March 1, 1955.

## "A PEOPLE APART"

IN order to combat the educational restrictions put upon African children under the Bantu Education Act of South Africa, two funds were initiated in Britain.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (15 Tufton St., Westminster), with their South African Emergency Fund, have to date collected £28,000.

The Africa Bureau (69 Great Peter St., London, S.W.1.), have raised £3,781.

## PEACE PILGRIM TO WALK ACROSS U.S. AGAIN

"Peace Pilgrim" has averaged thirty-two miles on each walking day, since she left San Francisco, on her second journey for peace across America.

Each day she walks until she is offered shelter and cats when she is invited to share. So far, she has eaten every day, and gained shelter whenever in need of it.

"Peace Pilgrim" has met with enthusiastic audiences in all the large cities through which she has passed. In Phoenix and Santo Fe she talked with the Governors of the States.

Her planned itinerary for the rest of the year is:—

April: Utah and Colorado; May: Wyoming and Idaho; June: Oregon and Washington; July: Montana, North and South Dakota; August: Minnesota and Wisconsin; September: Illinois and Iowa; October: Nebraska and Kansas; November: Missouri and Arkansas; December: Oklahoma and Louisiana.

She expects to arrive at the Capital City of each state on either the 14th or 28th of the month.

By Hugh Brock

"Two chief complaints against Communism are that it is theoretically atheistic (although we must bear in mind that Christians in Moscow are just as proud of their social system as are those in Washington, and in any case nobody suggests shooting Mrs. Knight!) and that when occasion demands, it has no respect for human personality.

"How can we make such criticisms without the greatest hypocrisy if we descend to the depths of making atom bombs?"

## NEUTRALITY

W. E. BRAY of Huddersfield, who in a letter to the Editor of Peace News on March 4 urged readers to write more letters to local newspapers, has set a good example himself.

I commend a well-made point made in a letter to the Yorkshire Observer following Bertrand Russell's broadcast last Christmas (the whole occupied 15 column inches):

"If it is true, as I believe it is, that a neutral Power possesses advantages which equip it to take a part as a peace mediator, it might be of benefit to us if we gave some thought to the question of neutrality. What are the characteristics of genuine neutrality? Are we as a nation so involved in intrigues and is our nature so bellicose that we are unable to contemplate it?"

I find Edward Bray has another letter in Peace News this week!



## A MAN OF PRINCIPLE

Although Peace News has printed the full story of Alderman Richard Bland's protest, we feel that readers will want to see how it was sent round the world by the American weekly, Time, under the above heading.

THOUGH far from a prig, Richard Bland (71) is an unbending man. He detests war and all forms of violence, blood sports, meat eating and tobacco, and he once served a term in prison rather than bear arms. Far from holding these convictions against him, the people of the Lancashire mill town of Nelson have twice chosen little (5 ft.) Dickie Bland to be their mayor. "Nelson doesn't like Dickie's principles," said one townsman, "but it does like Dickie." Beyond ordaining vegetarian menus at official luncheons and showing his disgust at pulled clouds of tobacco smoke, Dickie has returned the town's trust by keeping his convictions to himself as far as possible. However, he promised, "if anything comes along during my term as mayor that makes me feel I couldn't mix my office with my principles, I will resign."

About six weeks ago, Dickie Bland got the promise of the greatest privilege that can befall a provincial mayor: the opportunity to play official host to the Queen and her consort Prince Philip as they passed through town on a spring tour of the country. Delighted, Dickie plunged elbow-deep into plans for a gala reception at the town hall and a royal inspection of the local cotton mill. But then he learned that Her Majesty was to be attended at the visit by 100 rifle-bearing airmen of the RAF. Pacifist Mayor Bland appealed to a Lancashire county councillor, who in turn appealed to the Lord Lieutenant in charge of the royal tour. Could the airmen leave their death-dealing rifles in barracks for just this once? Back came the relentless answer: "Custom cannot be changed. It is instruction to all services that arms must be carried on such parades."

Last week, faced with the prospect of playing host to a detachment of armed men, Dickie Bland reconciled his principles in the only way he knew. He resigned. Regretfully, but with no hard feelings, the council of Nelson elected a new mayor, who thoughtfully set aside two seats for ex-Mayor Bland at the royal reception, the townsfolk doubted that Dickie would use them, set, as they were, near those rifles, they even half hoped he wouldn't. "We don't agree with Dickie," said one Nelsonian, "but we like a man to stand up for his convictions."

## Book Corner

## FORCE DOESN'T DEFEND

GROWING SPIRITUALLY (Hodder and Stoughton, 9s. 6d.) maintains Dr. E. Stanley Jones, is our world problem. At the centre of almost every acute problem—personal, social, economic, political and international—is moral and spiritual immaturity. The problems and possibilities in almost every situation have outgrown the persons. "We are immature persons dealing with mature problems."

He points out that "the powers we now have are such that an irresponsible mistake by a few immature people can set the world on fire—literally"; but oddly, for John Foster Dulles' foreign policy was unchristian, quotes the latter's being "driven into being a Christian from seeing international conferences dealing with great issues break down because the people in them lacked . . . the Christian spirit."

Himself an American, Dr. Jones in his book of daily devotional guidance towards spiritual maturity, asserts that dropping the atom bomb destroyed our security and revealed us as "a mixed pagan Christian civilisation." "The defence of force . . . doesn't defend and we know it." "The end of the quest for security was insecurity." He reaffirms faith in the unshakable kingdom of God and the necessity of loving our neighbour as ourselves. This is an invaluable, important book which even non-Christians should consider.

RONALD S. MALONE.

## FOR CHILDREN

Eat, Drink and Grow Clever, by A. B. Cuning, MB. Faber & Faber, 8s. 6d.

IN her book, WE ARE WHAT WE EAT, Dr. Cuning provided plenty of evidence in support of the food reformers; and, in describing her work and that of Dr. Flora Innes among backward and deprived children, made a convincing case for the value of whole, fresh food in achieving bodily and mental health.

In EAT, DRINK AND GROW CLEVER the same case is presented, this time in a form designed to appeal directly to children.

This book, attractively printed, and illustrated by Christina Sheppard, is suitable for children of primary school age, though older children would also benefit from reading it. It tells of Mr. and Mrs. Watts and their three children, who live on a farm, and are consequently more fortunate than most people in having fresh food readily available. The children are also fortunate to have, in Mrs. Watts, a mother with a sound knowledge of food values and the ability to enliven her explanations with interesting anecdotes drawn from a variety of sources, from Nelson to the Boer War, from the voyages of Captain Cook to the German occupation of the Channel Islands in the Second World War.

Dr. Cuning, in this very readable manner,

## THE WAY OUT OF THE H-BOMB DEADLOCK



JULES MOCH

Someone must lead! It is Britain's chance, writes Leslie Hale, MP in this review of a book by Jules Moch

Human Folly: To Disarm or Perish? By Jules Moch, with a preface by Prof. Einstein. Gollancz, 13s. 6d.

EVERY day, for many years now, in the House of Commons somewhere, a few earnest enthusiasts have been sincerely discussing some problem.

Whoever the Members and whatever the subject the result has almost always been the same. If it is a social problem, then it probably cannot be dealt with until the armament burden has been reduced; if it is an economic problem, then it may be a question of armaments expenditure or the influence of foreign policy; but in the end Members look hopelessly at one another and say "If only we could get agreement through a Four-Power Conference."

Of course, the most pressing and the most urgent problem today is the hydrogen bomb. The situation is so serious that many people deliberately refrain from contemplating it, most people instinctively try not to think of their own death, and the possible destruction of all humanity is altogether too depressing a subject.

M. Jules Moch, who was France's representative at the Disarmament Conferences of the last few years, has faced the possibilities frankly and paints a picture stark, forbidding but convincing. In his observations about the H-bomb he has consulted the best possible scientific advice of France and the book which has an introduction by Prof. Einstein is admirably translated by Edward Hyams, who has in places adapted it a little to the British possibilities.

M. Moch recalls his own experiences as a young lieutenant in the first world war:

"... the Saint Cyr cadets, my comrades, charging to their death in white gloves. Followed immediately the battle of the frontiers, a long charge of young men in red trousers and gold-mounted kepis against thousands of machine-guns entrenched behind masses of barbed wire of whose

existence, let alone quantity, we had never dreamed."

In the light of the facts which the book gives with regard to modern warfare this reads like a tragedy of a long distant era.

Today even the terror weapons of a few years ago are out of date.

The atom bomb with its 200,000 casualties is literally now being developed as an anti-air-

distance contemplate his successful murder of about ten million people.

The second part of M. Moch's most important book, which I beg readers of Peace News to buy and to pass on to those who cannot buy, consists of a painstakingly honest review of the disarmament negotiations of the last few years and of a passionate plea for international agreement.

The author by no means accepts the thesis that the USSR has been wholly and unreasonably responsible for the breakdown, nor does he see the present situation as devoid of all hope of agreement. Unhappily, however, he stops at this point, which the reader will remember, is exactly where I came in.

## A great gesture

Some country has got to make a great moral gesture in the form of a substantial measure of unilateral disarmament if humanity is to be spared this perpetual horror.

I believe that the decision to make the H-bomb and by implication to use it in certain circumstances, makes absolute nonsense of international morality and of our claims to be regarded as a Christian country.

I used the word "murder" advisedly. I know of no other term for a deliberate decision to exterminate millions of men, women and children, the aged and the infirm, the patients in hospitals, the halt, the maim and the blind, the poor and the sick, the distressed and the oppressed, because of a difference with their rulers.

In the light of such a decision what becomes of our traditional respect for life and liberty, of talk about human rights, and of respect for



LESLIE HALE, MP

craft weapon. The napalm bomb, which was used so extensively in Korea (jellied petrol which sticks to the skin and burns the body) proved very effective, and burning and blind children shrieking in agony rushed to their homes with the possible favourable result of setting the homes alight, but it is now almost out of date except for local operations.

## No defence

M. Moch makes the point which is a valid one, that there has been a rough balance up to now between methods of attack and methods of defence. Today he thinks there is no defence:

"But against the thermo-nuclear bombs, whose murderous effects are a great deal more powerful; whose dangerous radiations, carried great distances by ash, may be durable, may infect soil, crops, water and fish, and transform foods into vehicles of death; whose destructive effects may be greatly multiplied by the winds; whose heat fires buildings at a distance—against all this, even the most thorough dispersion and the most carefully studied protective measures are revealed as being entirely vain."

M. Moch quotes from the results of the last Bikini explosion which caused a crater eighteen hundred yards across and nearly fifty-five yards deep.

## H-bomb on London

Try to imagine for a second or two what this would mean in London! He concludes that a bomb dropped near St. Pauls would involve the total destruction of areas extending to Richmond, Wembley, Barking and Beckenham. Beyond that there would be a considerable area of blast damage, and minor damage would be caused in Salisbury, Cheltenham and Leicester.

M. Moch postulates two most serious theories.

The first is that unless we agree upon measures of control and inspection within a very short period the opportunity has been finally and irrevocably lost. At this moment world stocks of hydrogen bombs could be checked and inspection could be effected but production will increase in the form of a geometrical progression. In a few years time it would be impossible for anyone to check on stocks and any country or any reactionary military hierarchy within that country could hide and preserve bombs long after inspection had been agreed on.

The second is that it would be technically possible for a fanatic carrying in a single large suitcase to arrive in London and detonate the bomb with a time mechanism and from a

## Going underground!

PEACE NEWS' Voluntary Packing Squad recently invited readers to join them in providing funds for advertising PEACE NEWS on London's Underground.

The initial response amounts to over £30, including a contribution of £13 10s. 0d. from one anonymous donor, which is gratefully acknowledged here. This one donation will pay for six advertisement panels for a whole year (they cost approximately 1s. a week). It is hoped the fund's total will be sufficient to book at least 24 sites for this period.

## THE EFFECT OF TWO WORLD WARS

—Einstein

The psychological effect of two world wars has been that the attitude of the nations, even in times of peace (or half-peace, as the case may be), is dominated by the idea that one must act in such a way that in the event of war the situation of one's own nation shall be as favourable as possible. But such an attitude makes a real peace impossible, and necessarily leads to an intensification of antagonisms, and finally to catastrophe. Those who do not believe in the possibility of the attainment of a lasting and assured peace, or have not the courage to act accordingly, are ripe for destruction.

—Prof. Albert Einstein, in his introduction to "Human Folly."

the individual, of tolerance, decency and humanity?

M. Moch has written a very worthwhile book, which must be widely read. He has stated the challenge to humanity. But to this challenge we must respond with a much more effective answer. SOMEONE MUST LEAD! IT IS BRITAIN'S CHANCE.

No Socialist is complete without

## TRIBUNE

Place a regular order with your newsagent or send 2s 6d for the next nine issues to:

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222 Strand, London W.C.2.

"He who loves not God, nor his brother, cannot love the grass beneath his feet, nor the creatures which live not for his uses, filling those spaces in the universe which he needs not; while, on the other hand, none can love God, nor his human brother, without loving all things which His Father loves; nor without looking upon them every one as in that respect his brethren also."—JOHN RUSKIN.

Watch this page for news of a Sale to be held in London by the  
EVANGELICAL CATHOLIC COMMUNION  
ALL friends are urged to rally round and help, in the cause of God's Kingdom of Justice and peace.  
For information on the E.C.C., send a s.s.d. to the Rev. G. F. Tull, 101 Dalmally Road, Addiscombe, Surrey. (Publicity Secretary).



## Our armies are wonderful!

The following came to Peace News recently from a Government source. From which Government did it come? Does it matter? All Governments say the same thing. If you really want to know—it's quite unimportant—see back page, Column 4.

FROM the Army, the soldier returns today both a better educated, more enlightened and—more important still—morally a finer man. Our army is not only a "university," which gives its men a broad polytechnical schooling; our army is a school of lofty ethics, of patriotism, of duty, of humanity.

Our army works—yes, works!—for the sake of protecting its motherland and for the sake of protecting all the achievements of science and art, which mankind has produced by long centuries of creative endeavour and which in these days, heavy with responsibility for all of us, are threatened with annihilation by atomic, hydrogen or other kinds of bombs.

That is something we remember every hour of our lives. And it is something our army remembers every minute of its life.

The might of our army, resides not only in its weapons, its arms, it resides above all in its mind and heart.

★

Our army has a great mind, reared on mankind's finest traditions, and a great heart which knows the sorrows and the joys of the ordinary, common man; and it certainly has no wish to add to these sorrows and lessen the joys.

Our army is a sentinel of peace and security for the nations, a defender of the peoples from enslavement, a protector of their freedom and independence.

The soldier . . . is not just a fighting man with a tin hat, tommy gun and hand grenade. He is above all a man of deep education and enlightenment, a great-hearted man who desires to build, to create, not wantonly to destroy.

That is the source of the soldier's matchless heroism, honoured and admired by all the peoples of the world; that is the source of his dauntless courage, his fortitude, his audacity, his boundless devotion to his country and ability to defend it when required.

I am sure that the common folk of the earth will win peace, though it is not so simple, that they will not allow the incendiaries to light the conflagration of war. Peace will be cemented by friendship among the peoples. And the joy of that friendship will be a universal joy and not the least joy of our army!

## Those with consciences please keep quiet

MEMBERS of the American Legion Auxiliary executive committee were urged early this year to stifle any qualms of conscience they might have about conscription, and to give it their wholehearted support.

Declaring that he had received information recently "that there are certain people in both your organisation and the Legion, who do not like National Security Training or Universal Military Training, Director of the American Legion's national legislative commission, Miles Kennedy, added:

"This is a democracy, and in a democracy you can think what you want. But in a democracy the majority rules, and for God's sake don't sell your national president down the river. Let's not fall prey to the old Hitler propaganda of divide and conquer.

"If even one unit of either the Legion or the Auxiliary issues a statement opposing this it will be grabbed up by our opponents. I beg of you, plead with you, if you do have any qualms of conscience keep them to yourself. Don't brunt them around as you have been the last few days in Washington."

A carefully planned and scheduled flood of letters have been organised by the Legion, in support of Universal Military Training. The "American Legion Monthly," of March, states:

"Passage of the NST Bill had the Legion's number one legislative priority. Supporting the Legislative Division would be the combined letter-writing efforts of the 31,000 Posts (Branches of the Legion) and Auxiliary Units. A detailed plan to carry out the operation went to each Post . . . each Legionnaire to write a letter to his Senators and Congressman . . . One man would be appointed to hold these letters to be mailed when National Commander Seaborn P. Collins gives the go-ahead signal . . .

"The vital part of the plan lies in the timing. Premature mailings will be wasted. Collins . . . will notify all posts and units when mailing should be made.

"The Message-Day programme is designed to deluge members of the 84th Congress at the correct time with mail favouring passage of NST legislation."

Peace News staff-man for U.S. week-end school

UNDER the title "New Directions for Pacifism" the American Friends Service Committee and the War Resisters League will be holding a Spring Week-end Seminar, at Wool-Hill, Deerfield, Massachusetts, U.S., from May 6 to May 8.

Tom Wardle of Peace News staff, Bayard Rustin, of War Resisters League and Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Cecil Hinshaw, Quaker educator, lecturer and author, who has recently returned from a six months round-the-world tour, will be speaking.

## WAGING WAR ON WANT



A rural nurse, Marta Marroquin, trained by the World Health Organisation prepares clean newspaper while a mother holds a child that is to be given a routine check-up at St. Nicholas Apopa in El Salvador. Health is a major problem for most countries in Latin America. WHO is hindered in waging its campaign against disease by lack of support from countries which squander their resources on armaments.

## Bertrand Russell dropped his notes to reply to interrupters "THE CHALLENGE OF THE H-BOMB"

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

BERTRAND RUSSELL was one of many eminent figures who addressed a public meeting on "The Challenge of the H-Bomb" at Central Hall, Westminster on Thursday, March 31.

The meeting was organised by the Parliamentary Association for World Government with Gilbert MacAllister in the chair. Besides Lord Russell, two English MPs, Henry Osborne and Jim Pitman, a French MP, Mme. Lipowski, Signora Chiesa of Italy, and Profes-

sor Alexander Hadow, Principal of the Chester Beatty Cancer Research Institute, also spoke.

Mr. Clement Davies, who is President of the World Association of Parliamentarians was prevented from attending by illness.

Each speaker in his or her different way, expressed the view, that to avoid world disaster there must be world law, and that an empowered and improved United Nations could provide a basis for World Government, and therefore save us all from nuclear extinction.

It was clear that these "revolutionary" ideas were very upsetting to certain members of the audience, and "the sale of their birthright to some supra-national body was unthinkable."

Bertrand Russell, ignored his notes, when he began to speak, and asked what the interrupters meant by their birthright. He made it very clear that it was nothing less than our birthright that was at stake. He pointed out our precarious situation, and called for action from non-committed powers, such as India.

He suggested that they should carefully study the threat facing mankind today, and then issue a statement telling the two sides in the cold war that neither American Democracy nor Communism can gain from nuclear war.

The results of such war would be disaster, but with nuclear energy harnessed to peaceful aims, a golden age might arise, and with that hope a power for good might arise in the world.

### Futile argument

Professor Hadow was able to move his audience with the power involved where H-bombs were concerned. One H-bomb possessed more power than all the bombs that struck this country during the last war. It required only 20 of these bombs to cripple and destroy the whole country. Twenty pieces of fissile material the size of a grapefruit. One bomb could now spread 7,000 square miles of serious radiation. Besides the immediate horrors of death and destruction, the effects on those not directly affected were summarised; the change in blood cell formation, the cancers, the malformations.

He dismissed the futile argument of peace through deterrents, and showed that today, man possesses more power than that with which he endowed his early gods. Man had broken the sound barrier, the next step was to break the political barrier. The oneness of man was emphasised when he reiterated that the empires of the future are the empires of the mind.

Henry Osborne, in an excellent opening speech, related the tale of "Governor Moeur's navy!" when there was nearly war in 1934 between two American states over a dam on the Colorado river. A curt telegram from President Roosevelt restored the situation. The wider implications were obvious.

Jim Pitman followed and quoted Mr. Macmillan, when he said that "something like world government was necessary for control of all weapons of war."

Signora Mary Tibaldi Chiesa of Italy reminded the men in her audience, that whilst men have duties—children have rights.

Mme. Lipowski of France, bereaved and disgusted by war, spoke of the agony of German rearmament in the face of the opposition of both French people and German youth, and pleaded for a reasoned public opinion to demand world government.

Over 1,400 people attended the meeting, including representatives from India, Iceland, Israel, Poland, Pakistan and the Philippines.

## Women's International League say:

- RENOUNCE H-BOMB
- RENOUNCE WAR
- REMOVE U.S. BASES

THE Women's International League of Peace and Freedom held its Annual Council in London recently, celebrating at the same time its fortieth birthday.

Time was given on a very full agenda for an emergency resolution on the British Government's decision to make the H-bomb. Sybil Morrison was asked in this connection to speak on the White Paper for Defence and opened the discussion with a strong plea for looking at the whole question on moral grounds, and, finally, asked the conference to refuse its sanction to the use of nuclear weapons.

After discussion, a resolution was moved by the Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Ineson, seconded by Mrs. Duncan Harris, and carried unanimously recording "the strongest possible protest against the decision of H.M. Government to proceed with the development and production of the Hydrogen Bomb."

The resolution continued:

"This decision in our opinion, is aggravating the present tension between the West and the East rather than, as stated in the Defence White Paper, 'increasing the chances of peace.'"

"We not only fear the disastrous consequences to the human race, including future generations, but also strongly object to the policies which impose upon men the necessity to be the instruments of mass destruction."

"We believe that this is the moment to renounce not only these monstrous weapons, but war itself."

"We beg that H.M. Government should take note of the uneasiness and anxiety on this tremendous issue apparent in the minds of thinking people today, and earnestly pray them to lead the way to sanity and moral strength before it is too late, by refusing to manufacture nuclear weapons irrespective of the attitude and decisions of other governments."

### Mrs. Pandit's message

Speaking at a reception at County Hall, London, in connection with the WIL Anniversary Celebrations the High Commissioner for India, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, said it was a great privilege to be associated in this event. It gave her great satisfaction and happiness to see the impact the League's work was making on various sections of international society, especially in the United Nations.

"The life of the League is just beginning to unfold because of the ground-work of dedication, service and courage of the pioneers," she said. "We are going to achieve much bigger things than we thought possible, and women must play a much bigger part in policy-making."

In a statement issued after the meeting the WIL reaffirmed "that it is within the power of men and nations to eliminate organised violence and warfare from the world, and to free mankind for the growth and exercise of the spirit in creative activities; and that it is the responsibility of individuals to use their will to plan for peace, and the responsibility of nations and governments to place the welfare of all peoples before the prestige and self-interest of their own country or race."

They urged H.M. Government to take the following essential steps towards the easing of international tensions throughout the world:—

1. The seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and Security Council as the effective government of the Chinese people.
2. The initiating by H.M. Government of a plan for total and universal disarmament for presentation to the Disarmament Commission; recent developments in the field of nuclear warfare having made this a matter of urgency.
3. The adoption of a foreign policy based on the lessening of our overseas military commitments, which would lead the way to the abolition of conscription.
4. The immediate renunciation by H.M. Government of the use of hydrogen bombs and all other nuclear weapons.
5. The removal of all American bases and foreign military personnel from this country.



Mrs. PANDIT

## ILCOP CONFERENCE IN HOLLAND

THE next Conference of the International Liaison Committee of Organisations for Peace will be held at Pietersberg, Oosterbeek, near Arnhem, Holland, from August 23 to 28. Its subject will be "The Scientific and Psychological Approach to Peace."



Talking of books...

# Prisoners in Korea

By Robert Greacen

Treatment of British Prisoners of War in Korea. H.M. Stationery Office, 1s.

Peace Year Book, 1955. National Peace Council, 1s. 6d.

THE Stationery Office report, issued on behalf of the Ministry of Defence, on the treatment of British prisoners of War in Korea has already caused a great deal of discussion. It is an interesting document, although it is one that seems calculated to fan aggressive emotions. One has no reason to suppose that the incidents related are not factually true. Of course distortion can take place without telling a single lie. I have not the information to know whether or to what extent distortion may have taken place.

One recalls, however, that during the Korean War the Editor of Picture Post was sacked for attempting to show the other and presumably equally true side of the whole ghastly business—the treatment of prisoners by the United Nations forces. I can remember how a certain journal (of which I was then Assistant Editor) accepted James Cameron's offending article. The Editor was ordered by his superior not to print it. Despite strong editorial protests that invoked the freedom of the press and all that, the article was suppressed.

Regardless of the provisions of the 1949 Geneva Convention the ill-treatment of prisoners took place in Korea, as it necessarily must in any War. The new aspects



UN soldiers in Korea turn a flame-thrower on a home which may hide snipers.

were these: firstly, the systematic propagandist attempt to make prisoners change their ideas and secondly, the fact that British subjects, in particular two representatives of the Daily Worker, played a part in the process. Treason or working class solidarity?

Time was when PoWs were herded together like cattle and ill-treated (as animals would not be) by the more psychopathic of their guards, just because they belonged to the "enemy." Now the plan is to bring them over to the other side ideologically, using brutality only if "necessary." We are told that one British prisoner elected to remain in North Korea. One wonders whether he was a Communist before he saw that unhappy land. The writer of this official account admits that "there were, of course, genuine conversions, which were not based initially on a facade of 'progressiveness'."

In a record of sordidness and brutality there is one good joke, though not one that was readily appreciated by the Chinese or North Koreans. Apparently in their written examinations—how prison life must have resembled a kind of Borstal!—for prisoners one question nearly always cropped up: "What is the highest form of class struggle?" The stock answer carrying full marks was this: "The highest form of class-struggle is civil war between the exploiters and exploited." One witty British officer answered the question thus: "Travelling first-class on a third-class railway ticket." Absurd questions deserve flippant answers.

PEACE YEAR BOOK, 1955, is an indispensable guide to international and British organisations that are concerned, whether directly or indirectly, with the preservation of peace. If you want to know the address of the Third Camp Movement or the Africa Bureau, the Royal Empire Society or Racial Unity, PEACE YEAR BOOK provides a ready answer. The list of books, pamphlets and journals will be of assistance equally to research students and active field workers. Its last few pages make unpleasant but essential reading: statistics relating to armaments expenditure, casualties in the last World War and Korea, and Treaties of Alliance since 1945.

## Formosa belongs to China

FORMOSA belongs to China as much as anything belongs to anybody, that is, it belongs to the winner of the Chinese Civil war.

The Americans by officially attaching themselves to the Nationalists and giving them armed support are guilty of a flagrant act of aggression. We are allied with the Americans, give them air bases and are prepared to support them over Formosa provided that Quemoy and Matsu are given up—lovely British compromise. The Americans are prepared to use the H-bomb in a war over Formosa. This means that we are prepared to back the use of the H-bomb in the cause of aggression. Are we demoted?

D. G. WILLIAMS.

153 Finlay Rd., Gloucester.

## London Co-operative resolution

I HAVE sent to the secretary of the management committee of the London Co-operative Society a resolution for inclusion on the agenda of the quarterly meetings held during the week beginning Monday, April 25, calling for united action for the banning of the hydrogen bomb.

The resolution congratulates the education committee on the London conference on the H-bomb and calls on all sections of the London Co-operative Society to take the lead in our capital city for the abolition of the bomb by international agreement as a first step towards general disarmament.

This resolution has to be moved at all the quarterly meeting and I am writing this letter to appeal to all peace lovers to ensure it is moved and supported throughout the area of the London Society.

(Mrs.) DULCE SMITH.

3 Stuart Ave., Ealing Common, W.5.

## Finding new readers

DURING the past few weeks, following the debate in the Commons on the manufacture of the H-bomb and the pronouncement of the Archbishop of York, several people have written to the press on this vexed subject.

I want to suggest that pacifists in all areas make sure that whenever correspondents write to the press on subjects similar to that of the H-bomb and allow their names and addresses to appear, they should be contacted, either by a visit or a letter, and shown copies of Peace News. I am doing this in "my" area and within the space of a fortnight I have had assurances from some of those I have contacted, that they will commence taking our paper.

Might I suggest that Peace Pledge Union groups and distributors in general order their 12 "special rate copies" and organise a coverage of the press with the above object in view. There are upwards of 125 daily papers published and this does not take into account the various other publications which also, very often, publish letters from readers. I am convinced that if we do as I suggest and if everyone who does it has the same success that I have had, we shall find many new readers!

EDWARD BRAY.

20 Westfield Ave., Oakes, Huddersfield.

## Peace loans

I HAVE written to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and others, suggesting that as we have war loans, war stock, "defence" loans, etc., which the Government can always start at very short notice in order to pay for war, and preparations for war it would be equally easy for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to state this year, in announcing his budget, that Britain will now initiate a fund to be used exclusively for Development and Reconstruction—Peace Loans or Peace Stock—into which people like myself can pay the whole of that part of their Income Tax, i.e. 10s. out of every £1 now spent on preparation for war. The whole of what we pay could then be used solely for the purposes for which we, as Christians, stand.

I think we have to make it quite clear to our Government, and the world, that there is a body of people who have no intention of being a party to the manufacture and use of infernal weapons. Such a stand would be welcomed by that very large proportion of British people who are deeply shocked by the Governments' decision to manufacture and use them, and would welcome the opportunity to pay into Peace or Development Loans instead.

I think such a gesture from Britain would help to promote confidence also in peoples of other countries. We could then act as a bridge between Russia and USA.

ENID ANSELL.

Satyagraha, 218 Hills Rd., Cambridge.

## U.S. peace petition

MY Peace News arrived yesterday and as usual, I put aside all other concerns, to glean new courage and inspiration from your incomparable little newspaper. Of all the good deeds we experience from the American Friends Service Committee, none is more gratefully appreciated than their bringing us Peace News. Across the salt ocean between us you may draw deeply from the fresh flowing wells of gratitude you richly deserve. Please accept my thanks from all of us.

Withal your current issue carried an error that should be corrected as soon as possible, since it circulates among folks of all creeds and opinions. You headlined an item that *Methodists* in the USA had launched a Peace Petition. This is misleading. It makes no difference who first presented the Petition to the Fellowship of Reconciliation: only that the person was *not* a Methodist. The FoR as you

know, is interfaith and non-sectarian. It was the Peace Petition's first sponsor.

It is true, our Peace Petition is presently more largely supported by Methodists than other church leaders. It is also true that Methodists list more conscientious objectors than other denominations. This does not mean monopoly in either case. That the trustees of the great liberal Central Methodist Church of Detroit gave the Peace Petition working headquarters as long as needed, is a shining example to other Churches; not evidence of exclusiveness.

The Petition reads: To the President of the United States of America, from the undersigned citizens thereof:

Believing that war violates the will of God and threatens the nations of earth with mutual destruction, we ardently support your call to pray for peace; and since effective prayer requires consistent action, we humbly petition that you do your utmost in the spirit of the Lord's Prayer to: (1) Negotiate with enemies according to the Golden Rule; (2) Abolish weapons of mass extermination as an initial step toward international disarmament and devote the savings to human betterment; (3) Reconcile conflicts peaceably through the United Nations and help nations of differing systems to live together in peace.

REBECCA SHELLEY, Secretary.

Peace Petition Committee, 23 East Adams Avenue, Detroit 26, Michigan.

## Disarmament at one stroke

I AM getting tired of the way our official contributors to Peace News waste their efforts on elaborating their differences with Mr. Aneurin Bevan.

A legislator has got to ask himself whether the community is capable of implementing such legislation as is involved in disarmament in one stroke. I, as a pacifist, say it is not.

In my view the churches have got to be awakened—and the press—before the Government could be expected to act in this way. Disarmament requires elaborate economic planning to avoid economic chaos, and the easing of tension such as Mr. Bevan suggests is the first step. In attempting to bracket Mr. Bevan, with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Attlee I think PN lost its sense of proportion. The question asked by Pat Sloan (PN March 4) and the article by S. W. Green (March 18)

## Points from letters

IT might be well worth while to probe, in America, as well as in England, to what extent international big business is "interested" in the exploitation of and traffic in uranium and other fissionable minerals.

Africa in general is being pillaged. The worst case is that of the copper of North Rhodesia—the Beatty group—where white copper miners get six times in pay what they are worth (i.e. as much as £300 a month) for the US Government, and copper-kings to stock pile copper as fast as it can be got out of the ground; while the African contract-labourers, who do the hard work while the White Baas stands by, are considered to be "Communists" if—as lately—they strike for an extra 10s. 8d. a day.

SOUTH AFRICAN READER.

(Name and address supplied)

YOUR excellent paper has converted an American student. He came from Chicago, where they had conducted Communist purges among the schools, the boys conducting their own investigations. He wished, when he came to England, to drop H-bombs on Russia, and everything "peace" he labelled Communist. Your paper completely flabbergasted him when he saw your criticism of Russia. He has since thought for himself, and now his every other word is peace and co-existence.

G. P. TURVILL.

28 Fendon Rd., Cambridge.

THE time for peace-makers to argue amongst themselves has long since gone by. Today, unless we make peace and make it soon mankind may perish from the face of the earth, and we, not the war-makers will be to blame. Good is stronger than evil and God greater than the Devil, and we who are on the side of righteousness have the strength if we will but use it.

I must therefore, reluctantly criticise your splendid paper for its serious omissions. Rightly, as the journal of the pacifists, you put our case first and give us major space. But there are others striving for peace, and striving mightily, who do not see eye to eye with us always but for whom we ought to show greater respect and to whom I think you ought to give greater news space.

Particularly serious, I think is the omission of the activities of the British Peace Committee and the World Peace Council.

I think it is a serious weakness to our common cause that you take so little notice of such worthy collaborators. Their recent Trafalgar Square meeting on the H-bomb with a platform ranging from the church to atheists, from Trade Union leaders to Quakers, and which was attended by 5,000 people and followed by a mile long procession of silent protest, ought to have been reported by you as a great contribution to the whole campaign, which indeed it was.

JOSEPH R. SANDY.

50 Stanwick Mansions, W.14.

both raise issues which I think those responsible for pacifist policy ought to study more closely.

G. E. MADDEVER.

## Complete demilitarisation

I TAKE grave exception to Mr. Emrys Hughes' statement on military expenditure in Peace News, February 25, "that the time has come for a drastic reduction..." Surely such milk and water stuff is to be expected only from such people as the Bevanites and the Communists? Let us as pacifists not slither along the latter path, but take a constant radical stand for complete unilateral demilitarisation.

GEORGE GREGORY.

Cloveley Camp, Box Hill Rd., Nr. Tadworth.

## Thanks from Dutch prisoners...

IT was a pleasant surprise to receive so many Christmas and New Year's Greetings from all parts of the globe.

On behalf of the 90 conscientious objectors here in Eindhoven I must express heartfelt gratitude to all those who sent us their cards.

Thanks also to the War Resisters' International which for many years now has smoothed the way to international contacts between pacifists. We hope that its unceasing fight for recognition of the CO, whatever his persuasion, may find more approval all over the world.

C. STELLING. A. DEN DULK.

Eindhoven, Holland.

## ...and a Scot

I WOULD like to express my gratitude to all the kind and thoughtful people who sent me Christmas and New Year cards. I spent the festive period in Barlinnie Prison, where I was sent as a conscientious objector.

I received a total of 56, and on behalf of my wife and myself wish to thank the senders who must have read of my plight in Peace News.

THOMAS FISKEN.

14 West End Park St., Glasgow, C.3.

More letters on next page

## Films

# The Last Bridge



Helga (Maria Schell) telling a partisan of her desperate need for drugs to check an outbreak of typhus among his men.

NOW at the Camco-Poly Cinema, Regent Street, London, is a superb Austro-Yugoslav film, "The Last Bridge" (Gala-Camco-Poly) which deservedly won the Selznick Golden Laurel Award for "outstanding achievement in promoting mutual understanding and goodwill among the peoples of the free and democratic world."

Maria Schell, with a sensitivity which won a Cannes Festival award for the best actress of 1954, plays a German doctor, who, kidnapped by Yugoslav partisans, helps wounded Yugoslavs, Germans and English alike. At first she heals her enemies reluctantly and she is horrified when after healing a Partisan, he shows her he can now use his trigger finger. When a Nazi prisoner denounces her "treachery," she tells him: "Suffering is the only enemy. Partisans are human beings like you and me, and her conscience pleads for an all-embracing humanity above that of her own people."

Finally, both armies stop firing to let her complete an errand of mercy; and the film, pointing the need for men to show greater humanity to each other, even to enemies, whatever their nationality or politics, asks, "Must her sacrifice be in vain?" Since she is saving life, did not dare differentiate between one life and another, surely the rest of humanity must see the pointlessness of destroying lives in the cause of nationalism.

VERONICA MADDINGLEY.

## TO MEET IN ITALY

AN East-West Meeting will be held by the Centre of International Co-ordination for Non-violence in Perugia, Italy, on August 29 and 30.

It will examine by means of papers and discussions the theoretical and practical aspects of world unity, and the spiritual forces which already exist.

Papers, suggestions and publications in Italian, English, French and German will be welcomed, and should reach The Centre of International Co-ordination for Non-violence, c/o Aldo Capitini, Palazzo Perugia, Italy.



# THE LAST OF THE WINE

ANY play with Fay Compton is worth hearing, but she had a very difficult task with "The Last of the Wine" (Third), by Robert Bolt.

The subject, the threat of an A-bomb attack on London provided scope for dramatic, realistic presentation, particularly as the author, in a foreword quoted from Martin Buber's I and Thou ("our leaders smile with superior assurance, but death is in their hearts") and continued, "My play is aimed at that smile, which is worn not only by our political leaders, so nobly engaged upon the postponement of our universal suicide, but wherever experts gather together."

Unfortunately the aim was wide of the mark. There was far too much of a foolish love story, and the bickering of the two young men seldom rose above nursery level. We hope the author will try again. Being shrewd and capable, he should not hesitate to discard a substitute for his best.

In AT HOME AND ABROAD (Home), we were told that young children in Cyprus were taking oaths to free their country from foreign domination. "The United Nations had deferred indefinitely consideration of an application for self-determination by the Cypriots." (Sweet are the uses of majorities). After all "Turkey is our friend and ally, and one-fifth of the population are Turks." Our moral concern for minorities was proved beyond all doubt by "Cyprus for strategic reasons alone must remain British." In short, if excuses are very thin we have a nice fat reason.

During Holy Week the BBC tried hard to please everybody, but we are puzzled why "Lariat Boy," a story of White Settlers and Indians—the first Wild Western serial ever written for "Children's Hour" (Home)—was considered suitable for the occasion. There were plenty of arrows shot and rifles fired, to say nothing of a stampede of 3,000 cattle to ride down the "bad men." Another "inspiration" was the playing of Mozart's "Alleluja" by "The Band of Welsh Guards" (Light).

"The Twelve Pound Look" (Home), a skit on masculine vanity, is one of Barrie's chuckles. Betty Ann Davies as Kate, Norman Shelley as Sir Harry and Dorothy Black as Lady Sims played their parts to perfection. It is true, of course, that many otherwise sensible men accept the frivolous title of knightdom merely to please their wives!

"Eh, he was a oner!" said Aunt in a running commentary during Lord Samuel's "Sir Winston Churchill's Political Life" (All Services). "Just like Moses, he led his people for 50 years he did. With a 'V' sign by day and a cigar by night; led us dry foot over the Suez Canal and right up the garden path to Eden. I hope he left the world a little better than when he first took charge of it, but I'm a bit septic about that."

## I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

Friday, April 15  
CROYDON: 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Park Lane. Special conference to renounce the H-bomb. Convened by the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

Sunday, April 17  
LONDON, W.1: 3.30 p.m.: King's Weigh Ho., Church, Binney St. (Nr. Bond St. Stn.). Pacifist Universalist Service. PPU Religion Commission.

Monday, April 18  
EAST GRINSTEAD: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho. Debate: Martin Dakin, Fred Moorhouse v. Col. Sir Ralph Clarke, MP, W. S. Hyett. "The Way to Peace." For and SoF.

HARROGATE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Oxford St. (Minnie Pallister). Public Mtg. PPU.

Tuesday, April 19  
BIRMINGHAM: 7 p.m.: Dick Sheppard Ho., 36 Holloway Head. Harry Minter, Peace News, AGM West Midlands Area. PPU.

KENSINGTON: 7.30 p.m.: Kensington Town Hall, J. Avery Joyce and Dr. A. D. Belden. "H-bomb and UN." Crusade for World Government

Wednesday, April 20  
CHELTENHAM: 7.30 p.m.: The Rotunda. Peace Forum. Brains Trust. Prof. Charles Coulson, FRS, David Eversley, B.Sc. (Econ), Canon C. F. Harman, Henry Osborne, MP, For and SoF.

HALIFAX: 7.15 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Clare Rd., Minnie Pallister. "The Christian Answer to the Hydrogen Bomb." PPU. For.

Thursday, April 21  
BRIDGLINGTON: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Havelock St., Richard Rowntree on his recent visit to Kenya. Public Mtg. SoF.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Mr. Hyams. "The Jew and his Neighbour." PPU.

Every week!

SUNDAYS  
HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

TUESDAYS  
MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS  
LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.: Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen's Way. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

## For disarmament

REALISING that pacifists, whether members of the Peace Pledge Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Independent Labour Party, or any other body or of none of these, are bound to be concerned with the action which they can take in the existing political situation, the undersigned submit the following comments for consideration:—

Individually we all accept the need for disarmament, unilaterally if necessary, by Great Britain. We fear that the arguments adopted, for example by Mr. Bevan, are apt to confuse rather than clarify public thinking, since it is impossible to agree that this country should manufacture the Hydrogen bomb while restricting its use to only specified situations.

We applaud the stand taken by Sir Richard Acland, though we regret that he has not so far found it possible to accept the view that it is not enough to abjure the H-bomb while retaining other weapons.

It has been suggested that an "alliance" might now be formed on the basis of disarmament by this country, combined with positive action to relieve causes of world tension, and that such an "alliance" might put forward candidates in selected constituencies at any future election.

Another suggestion made is that an organisation should be set up with the immediate purpose of taking advantage of the proposed meeting of Labour Party representatives at Margate on May 15. A carefully planned meeting with nationally known speakers might be held during that weekend at Margate.

These are only some suggestions and we do not feel competent to do more than offer them now for consideration. We shall be very glad to hear of other views and what the pacifist organisations are prepared to do during the next few months.

FRANK T. FARMER, ELIZABETH HOLDING, JOHN HOLDING, JOHN MCNAIR, URSULA M. MASSEY, W. GRIGOR MCCLELLAND, JOHN MORLEY, DONALD RAMAGE, MARK SADLER, SYBIL GEFEN, IVAN GEFEN. 18 Saltwell View, Gateshead, 8.

## Olive Schreiner

FRANCOISE DELISLE (PN, April 7) rightly deplores any denigration of Olive Schreiner's husband, Samuel Cronwright, and she hopes that in my biography, which she has not read, I have been fair to him as well as to her. I have striven to do justice to both husband and wife, and to explain, as far as an outsider can, the difficulties of their relationship with one another.

Cronwright was undoubtedly kind and patient, more patient than many men might have been with Olive, who was by no means easy to live with. That he did not fully understand her was not altogether his fault; he certainly recognised her genius, and he treasured everything that she wrote. Any new interpretation of her life and work depend in the first place on his painstaking biography of her, which—as Vera Brittain pointed out—gives all the facts, if not the whole truth.

D. L. HOBBMAN. 66 Tisbury Road, Hove.

## News vendor's Commentary

ON reading Sybil Morrison's piece on her news-vending experiences at Charing Cross I am impressed by (a) how much good sense, and (b) how much slipshod and harmful think-

# LETTERS

SEE ALSO PAGE SIX

ing, she condenses into this one short article.

First, her remarks on the Soviet Union and the A and H-bomb are factual and correct.

But why does she have to boast of a thoughtless and stupid retort to some still more stupid young man that she would probably be "shot" in Moscow? Here she helps to pile up the slanders of the cold war on her very pitch of peace outside Charing Cross—and boasts of it.

Why does she not mention the continued Soviet efforts to get agreement on the banning of A-bombs and H-bombs, efforts going on this very moment at the Disarmament Subcommittee in London?

And why must she call the Soviet attitude "aggressive" when, on every issue in the past year, the USSR has tried continuously to get further negotiations going, and when negotiations have become possible has made serious

## Letter from USA

the clergy out of it for the moment—sell themselves to the military and such problems as—Colonel Beers mentions this one too—"Is there a better warning sound than a wailing siren? You know, it scares some people more than is necessary."

In view of such phenomena as these, I am glad to end on another note by mentioning a brief article written some months ago by Dr. Karl Menninger of the famous Menninger Foundation of Topeka, Kansas, but which came to my attention only the other day. (The article is one of many appearing in the June, 1954 issue of Pulpit Digest, address, Great Neck, New York. Single copies can be obtained at 50 cents and larger quantities at reduced rates. Pacifists among the authors are Howard Thurman, Halford Luccock, McNeill Potat, Georgia Harkness and Frank Laubach. Others are Norman Thomas, Nehru, Bertrand Russell, Wm. O. Douglas, Chester Bowles, etc.)

## An optimistic note

Menninger's contribution, being that of a psycho-analyst, appropriately begins with a quotation from Freud who—surprisingly enough, as his correspondence on the subject with Einstein twenty years or so ago indicates—was a pacifist. Freud, in the passage quoted by Menninger, ascribes a great part of the current unrest, dejection, and "mood of apprehension" to the fact that men have "brought their powers of subduing the forces of nature to such a pitch that . . . they could now very easily exterminate one another to the last man."

Freud ends on a more optimistic note than we are accustomed to associate with his writings and suggests that now "the other of the two 'heavenly forces,' eternal Eros, will put forth his strength."

Menninger goes on to say that at least in this passage Freud makes it clear that he is talking about the love, *agape*, of Paul's I Corinthians XIII.

After quoting from that classic statement about "this medicine, love" Menninger asks: "Who will dispense the medicine to the patient? . . . Does anybody really believe in love?" With the caution of the professional man he observes that "what works with individuals who come to the psychiatrist as patients might not work in the case of groups

concessions (as, e.g. on all-German elections, Austria and the banning of the Bombs)?

If she replies that she does not know of any such concessions, I would only repeat: Please do read the available material in print before falling for the warmongers' slanders that the USSR is "aggressive."

PAT SLOAN.

British Soviet Friendship Society, 36 Spencer Street, London, E.C.1.

## "NATIONALISM AND DEMOCRACY"

We have received a letter from Reginald Reynolds arising out of that from John Nibb in Peace News, March 25.

This correspondence has been brought to a close and we cannot agree to reopen it. We think it is due to Reginald Reynolds, however, to say that his letter seeks to draw attention to a number of points upon which his views have been misquoted or misrepresented. Ed., PN.

FROM PAGE TWO

of people to whom one went on a mission." It is very refreshing that he does not cavalierly reject the latter possibility as I find most psychologists, psychiatrists, etc., do. He goes on to make a suggestion for a mission to Russia which I shall not describe here.

His article closes with some remarks about prayer! "It seems to me more worthy of the worship of the God I believe in for us to pray for more love in our world than to pray for more rain in our country." A fitting ending for a Letter written during Holy Week.

## A first performance

PEACE NEWS presented another Musical Evening on Friday, April 1, at Friends International Centre. Eric Rees (baritone) was accompanied by Margaret Thistlethwaite, and Robin Harrison played piano solos.

Great interest was aroused by some settings of Esperanto poems by the distinguished pacifist musician, Frank Merrick, who introduced the programme personally. These included a song cycle, La Kvar Sezonoj (The Four Seasons) and a group of four separate songs. Mr. Merrick has set his texts to music which is attractive and singable in style and distinguished by a remarkable feeling for the words. Such graceful and poetic music is rare these days, yet the composer shows in "La Nigra Rajdanto" (The Black Rider) that he can also write music of dramatic power.

Another novelty was "Wenn du Heimgehst zu Gott" by the Viennese-born composer, Egon Stein. In this beautiful and moving song Eric Rees was accompanied by the composer.

In Beethoven's C Minor Sonata (Op. III) and shorter pieces by Chopin, Scarlatti, Liszt and Albeniz, Robin Harrison showed himself to be a talented pianist with a vigorous style, fluent fingers and a fine sense of musical structure. His excellent rhythm and well-moulded phrasing, always a delight, were particularly so in a charming Bagatelle of his own composition. E. R.

The evening resulted in a contribution of £2 5s. 0d. for the Peace News Fund, and we are especially indebted to Eric Rees both for arranging the programme and for his own delightfully versatile and accomplished performance. Ed., PN.

# CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.  
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MEETINGS  
INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Tuesdays, 7.30. Literary Institute, 18 Queen Sq. All welcome.

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**COMING DOWN THE SEINE** by Robert Gibbings  
An enchanting journey described in words and masterly wood engravings by the author of *Sweet Thames Run Softly*. "A book of good talk, good stories and rich digressions."—*News Chronicle*.

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## Acland

★ FROM PAGE ONE

deterrent Britain can add nothing; for if the Russians (or the Americans) are not deterred from some mad act by what the Americans (or the Russians) might do to them, they will not be deterred from it by thinking about a few extra explosions contributed from Britain.

### What about the long run?

This is really the supreme question which I am putting to you in this election.

I beg you to think about it for the sake of your children and your children's children.

What is to happen in the end? Is the deterrent to go on for ever? Is mankind for ever to live in fear that at almost any moment Russians or Americans may unleash the hydrogen barrage; and with no more than the hope that with luck they will each restrain the other? Are boys and girls to grow up for ever in a world agonisingly balanced on this razor-edge of uncertainty?

If not, then what? Some day, surely, the ghastly tension between the two giants must somehow be relaxed. But how? From within one or other of them? Impossible. From Russia and America on their own nothing can come except an ever-widening vicious spiral of power, hatred, suspicion and fear.

### The only hope of mankind:

Our only long-term hope is that somehow other nations and peoples, from outside the arena of unlimited power and fear, may steadily offer such understanding and tolerance and even forgiveness to each of the two great antagonists as will gradually teach them even to tolerate each other. We saw that India, without threat of arms, could take a step in this direction in Korea.

If we now make H-bombs—(1) we add nothing to the deterrent, and (2) we enter the arena of fear and hate; and we thus disqualify ourselves from the long task of constructive peace-making.

If we stop making H-bombs, A-bombs, strategic bombers and all the rest; if we take the lead in a world attack on world poverty; then we can play our part in creating peace in an agonised world.

### One word of warning:

What I propose is not a certainty; and it cannot possibly be quick. There are terrible risks; and at best it must be a quarter-century effort. I propose it because, with all its risks, it is the only hope.

If now I have persuaded you that Britain should not make H-bombs, then I hope that I can also persuade you that this question is much more important than Party loyalty—either to Conservative or Labour.

After all, suppose that one day the H-bombs actually begin to drop. Suppose that on that day you have to say: "Of course I always knew at the time that Acland was right, but naturally I had to vote against him for the sake of the Party."

If I am right about H-bombs, you do not have to vote against me for the sake of any Party. The future of your children and of mankind is more important than political machines.

### To those who agree

If you agree with me in what I have said and done, please don't just leave it at that. I start this contest against two established machines with no organised support at all. Those who disagree will work as hard as they can against me; I shall fail unless those who agree will work equally hard on my behalf. I therefore want you to do two things. (1) Every day, make it your business to tell someone that you agree with me. (2) Call at my office at 1 Union Street, off Parrock Street, Gravesend (or write a line) to let me know that you are ready to help in building up the organisation that we need.

### News you may have missed

● FROM PAGE ONE

A statement criticising American policy towards the Chinese off-shore islands of Quemoy and Matsu has been issued recently by Christian Action, a national organisation of Protestants in the United States.

The New China news agency has accused Americans and Nationalist Chinese secret agents of sabotaging a plane in which Chinese officials were travelling to Indonesia for the Afro-Asian Conference. It crashed shortly after take-off on Monday, and some members of the crew and passengers are missing.

### EUROPE

Police on April 4 uncovered new evidence of a violent anti-British campaign in Cyprus. Copies of a secret oath, "to struggle against the British yoke" even at the sacrifice of life, have been found. It is not known the total number of arrests.

A complaint by Sir Charles Peake, British Ambassador in Athens concerning a broadcast on Athens radio dealing with the Cyprus situation has caused Mr. Stephanopoulos, Greek Foreign Minister, to state that friendly relations with Britain must be maintained. The Government official in charge of Cyprus broadcasts was dismissed.

The conference of 97 non-governmental organisations meeting at Geneva, ended on April 4, having passed resolutions calling for respect of human rights without discrimination, and for the adoption of certain conventions—such for example as the Convention of Human Rights—by the community of nations. These resolutions will go to the UN Economic and Social Council when it meets in Geneva in the summer.

East German authorities report the arrest of 521 US and British citizens, who are accused of being Secret Service Agents.

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## LOST CAUSE

Life, to be sure, is nothing much to lose. But young men think it is, and we were young. —A. E. Housman.

THE strange and awkward gap left by the disappearance of most national newspapers has been filled for most of us with reading of a different kind. Among the books that have come my way, there is one which remains in my mind even though it is by no means in the category of great literature.

It is an authentic account of a nursing sister's experience in a front line casualty clearing station at the time of the D-Day invasion of Normandy, and is appropriately called *LIFE IN OUR HANDS*. The author, Pamela Bright is unknown to me, but she writes with great economy and skill, and her compassion and sorrow dominates the scene.

There is nothing sentimental, nor morbid in her pages, though the subject is one that could easily lend itself to either mood. The description of appalling wounds suffered by men, who only a few hours earlier had been in full possession of bodily health and physical strength, of their pain and their humiliation, is told objectively and yet compassionately.

There is the sergeant who just gave up and died, the man with the formless jaw, bandaged so that only the madness in his eyes showed; there is the one who struggled up to go and look for his pal, though he had no legs to do it with; there is the corporal whose liver is torn in two, leaving him yellow and insane; there is the young lieutenant gasping his life away for want of a lung, the colonel without an arm and a leg, who loved the Army, the youth with his genitals destroyed attempting suicide rather than return to his "girl" impotent.

This picture of fearful violence and dreadful waste is set amid the ordered routine of a moving hospital. The work and imagination

\*Macgibbon & Kee. 12s. 6d.

## STRIKE—while the iron is hot

THE London newspaper strike, which seems likely to end this weekend, has given a valuable boost to Peace News sales in Greater London. Over 15,000 copies of this issue have been printed; Peace News will be conspicuously present at hundreds of shops and street pitches where it has not been seen since the early months of the last war.

A dozen shops around this office welcomed the paper with a fervour normally reserved for the million circulation press—and nearly 300 copies were taken by sellers in Fleet St. and the Charing Cross area during a two hour delivery round last Thursday afternoon. Many of our London voluntary distributors, at negligible notice, delivered extra supplies to local shops.

WE MUST NOT LOSE ALL THIS VALUABLE NEW GROUND. Now is the time to see that your newspapers continue to stock and display Peace News. Having read it once his customers will, we hope, come back for more. It rests with our regular readers to make sure that local shops have Peace News available all the time. This entails an undertaking to buy left-over copies, but given a few months successful try-out this guarantee becomes superfluous.

Meantime our Eight Special Campaigning Issues continue. New orders are still coming in for one dozen of each of eight consecutive issues at the special rate of £1—a magnificent opportunity for peace groups and individual readers to introduce the paper to sympathisers and people who mould public opinion. Lack of space prevents detailed reports of the fine work being done; three dozen copies to the queue in Bath waiting to see Billy Graham's "Souls in Conflict" Film (others please copy!), Hastings Peace Pledge Union Group's last weekend sell-out of 100 copies through local newspapers, 130 copies at two Bevan meetings in South Yorks, the new street selling campaign of Merseyside Young Friends, consistently good sales at London meetings—and a large campaigning mail each day that takes many hours to sort and deal with.

H. F. M.

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PAUL DEHN (News Chronicle)

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### PEACE NEWS

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involved, the absolutely rigid routine that made it possible to follow behind the invading armies, and in a matter of hours set up tents, beds, operating theatres, dispensing departments, and even a mortuary, is a peculiarly exciting story in itself.

No self pity obtrudes, though the work of the nurses and orderlies and doctors was exacting, exhausting, and heart-rending. The writer has a deep passionate humanity, and in spite of work that could have made for callousness, felt each patient was human, each one different and important. "I could still feel protective and loving towards the faces raised to mine, those same sick faces which looked hopefully up from beds in London, Edinburgh, Normandy or Palestine. I could still feel."

Nevertheless, she found it impossible to feel that same compassion and pity for the Germans. As the advance continued, badly wounded German prisoners passed through the casualty clearing stations. One had fought desperately to avoid capture "believing that as a prisoner he would be shot, and as a wounded man would be buried alive" though everything medically possible was done for these fear-indoctrinated human beings, the writer cannot conceal her contempt and horror.

★

Yet these men had obeyed orders, even as the British RAF with 250 bombers had just removed a whole small town of Normandy from off the map in the name of liberation. There is a tragic story of a dazed old man encountered on the road, who asked the way to that small town which was his home, and there was nothing to do for him, but give him cigarettes and chocolates, and point out the way to another town.

The book is an unconscious, but tremendous indictment of war; all the people in it are real people, and it is impossible not to believe in them. They are human beings, caught in a great machine which tore them to pieces as though they were nothing but fuel fed to its monstrous engines.

The men who set forth that D-Day, inspired and uplifted by the words of one of the greatest of all war leaders, did not know they were fighting in a cause already lost; that the policy of "unconditional surrender" had already cast the shadow of the Hydrogen bomb; that their mutilation and humiliation could never save the world from the threat of total extinction.

This book should be read if only because it "gives one to think," not only about the horrors and miseries of war, but about the meaning of peace.

### OUR ARMIES ARE WONDERFUL

From the Moscow "News", February, 1955 "Army of the Soviet People" by Vsevolod Ivanov.

### No H-bombs for Britain

## BROMLEY

"Objective Peace" demonstration Saturday, April 23

3 p.m. Poster Parade from Bromley North Station, Sherman Road.

3.45 p.m. Open-air Meeting, Bromley North Station, Sherman Road.

Speakers: John Hoyland, Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison. Chairman: Winifred Salter.

### ANY QUESTIONS?

at Bromley Public Library, High St., at 6.30 p.m.

(Peace Exhibition and Buffet from 5 p.m.)

Panel: Alastair Heron, John Hoyland, Sybil Morrison, Stuart Morris, Jack Stevens. Question Master: Leonard Tomkinson.

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King's Weigh House Church, Binney St., W.1. (Near Bond St. Tube)